

THE TRANSMISSION OF IBN MAJAH'S "SUNAN"

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Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Qazwīnī Ibn Mājah al-Rab'ī was born in 209 A.H.,¹ and died in 273,² on the 22nd of Ramaḍān. His interest in Tradition led him to travel to Iraq, Baṣra, Kūfa, Bagdād, Mecca, Syria, Egypt and Rayy to meet authorities and receive traditions from them directly.³ Of these Yāqūt mentions a number with whom he studied in Damascus, Cairo, Ḥimṣ and Iraq, adding that there were many others. While he is remembered for his compilation of traditions he had wider interests and is said to have written a commentary on the Qur'ān and a history of Qazwīn,⁴ but only his *Sunan* seems to have survived.

Different views have been expressed about the value of the *Sunan*. Ibn Mājah is said to have submitted his work to Abū Zur'a (d. 264)⁵ who, after looking into it, remarked that if this work fell into people's hands all the *jāmi*'s, or most of them, would become worthless, adding that there were not as many as thirty traditions whose *isnād* contained a weakness.⁶ Dahabī displays modified rapture in his estimate of the value of the *Sunan*, saying

¹ Yāqūt, *Geogr. Wörterb.* iv, 91; Dahabī, *Tadhkira*, ii, 189; Ibn Hajar, *Tahḍīb al-tahḍīb*, ix, 531; Ibn Ḥallikān (De Slane), ii, 680; Ibn al-'Imād, *Ṣaḥarāt al-dahab*, ii, 164.

² Yāqūt, Dahabī, Ibn Ḥall, *loc. cit.* *Ṣaḥarāt* says Tuesday, 21st Ramaḍān. Ibn Hajar merely mentions the year and adds that some say the year was 275.

³ Yāqūt, *Geogr. Wörterb.* iv, 90f.; Ibn Ḥall, *loc. cit.*; *Ṣaḥarāt*, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Ibn Ḥall. *loc. cit.*; *Ṣaḥarāt*, *loc. cit.*; Ḥajjī Ḥalīfa, ii, 141.

⁵ I.e. 'Ubaidallāh b. 'Abd al-Karīm Abū Zur'a al-Rāzī. See Dahabī, *Tadhkira*, ii, 124f.; Ibn al-'Imād, *Ṣaḥarāt*, ii, 148f.

⁶ Yāqūt, iv, 91; Dahabī, *loc. cit.* Yāqūt adds that he may have said twenty or some such number. In the Introduction to the *Sunan* of Nasā'ī the story is discredited, as the *sanad* for Abū Zur'a's statement is broken. The suggestion is further made that he may have meant thirty traditions which were not only weak but utterly worthless, or he may have examined only one *ja'z'* of the book in which he found this number of traditions with a weakness in the *isnād*. Abū Ḥātim (d. 354, i.e. Ibn Ḥibbān (see G.A.L. Supp. I, 273)) is quoted as saying in *Kitāb al-'ilāl* that Abū Zur'a pronounced judgement on many traditions in Ibn Mājah's *Sunan* to the effect that they were false, worthless, or rejected.

it would have been a fine book had it not been spoiled to some extent by weak traditions, yet he quotes Abū Ya'la al-Ḥalilī (d. 446)¹ as saying that Ibn Mājah was a great authority, as everyone whose authority was quoted agreed.² Ibn Ḥajar says his book is a good collection with many *bābs* and remarkable features, but contains some very weak traditions, and quotes al-Sarī to the effect that when Ibn Mājah gives a unique tradition it is generally weak, and that there are many *munkar* traditions.³ Ibn Ḥallikān goes the length of saying that Ibn Mājah "ranked as a high authority on the Traditions, and was versed in all the sciences connected with them, and acquainted with everything respecting them", and calls his book one of the six *ṣaḥīḥs*.⁴ It is worthy of note that while Sam'ānī says nothing about Ibn Mājah in the article *Qazwīnī* in his *Ansāb*, he remarks that there were many *imāms* and excellent people from Qazwīn in every branch of learning whom he has omitted because they are so well known.

It is quite characteristic to find men speaking in high praise of Ibn Mājah's *Sunan* and at the same time to find others who value it less highly. Few Arabic works have failed to find admirers and detractors. In *Ḥadīth* studies it is common to find men called important authorities by some and worthless, or at least unreliable, by others. With regard to Ibn Mājah's *Sunan*, the fact stands that it took a long time to commend itself. Goldziher has given an account of the views of different scholars at various times regarding the inclusion of Ibn Mājah's *Sunan* among the authoritative books,⁵ and holds that by the seventh century of Islām Muslim theologians were unanimous in recognizing the six books, yet he modifies this by pointing out that individual scholars continued to omit Ibn Mājah from the six works, and notes that Ibn Ḥaldūn (d. 808) speaks of the five books, although he does not specify what they were. He adds that the acceptance of six canonical books is the work of eastern Islām. Tāhir b. Ṣāliḥ al-Jazā'irī⁶ says some have added Ibn Mājah's book to the five books. This was first done by Abul Faḍl b. Tāhir (448-507);⁷ but as Ibn Mājah rendered traditions from men suspected of

¹ *Tadhkira*, II, 301-3; *Ṣaḍarāt*, III, 274.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ *Tabdīb*, IX, 531.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ *Mus. Stud.* II, 262 ff.

⁶ *Taḥṣīb al-naẓar ilā nṣūl al-aḥqar*, p. 153; G.A.L. S. II, 777 f.

⁷ Muḥammad b. Tāhir b. 'Alī Abul Faḍl al-Maqdisī, known as Ibn al-Qaisarīnī al-Saibānī. *Tadhkira*, IV, 37 ff. G.A.L. S. I, 603.

falsehood and of stealing traditions, some held that Dārimī's book¹ should be made the sixth. Some, like Razīn al-Saraqūṣī (d. 535),² have made Mālik's *Muwattaʿa*³ the sixth. Ibn al-Aʿtīr (544-606) in his *Jāmiʿ al-uṣūl*⁴ and others have done similarly. Although the *Sunan* had a somewhat chequered career it eventually came to be recognized as one of the six canonical books revered by Sunnis.

The *Sunan* had a number of transmitters. Yāqūt⁵ mentions Abul Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm b. Salama al-Qaṭṭān (d. 345),⁶ Abū ʿAmr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥakīm (d. 333),⁷ and Abul Ṭayyib Aḥmad b. Rauḥ al-Baġdādī.⁸ Dahabī mentions Muḥammad b. ʿIsā al-Abḥarī⁹ and Sulaimān b. Yazīd al-Qazwīnī in addition to all the above, but he says there were others, whom he does not name.¹⁰ Ibn Ḥajar¹¹ mentions ʿAlī b. Saʿīd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ġadānī, Ibrāhīm b. Dīnār al-Jurašī al-Hamdānī, Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Qazwīnī whom he calls grandfather of Abū Yaʿlā al-Ḥalīlī (d. 446),¹² Ishāq b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī, Jaʿfar b. Idrīs,¹³ al-Ḥusain b. ʿAlī b. Barānīyād, in addition to Abul Ṭayyib (whom he calls al-Mašʿarānī), Sulaimān, Muḥammad b. ʿIsā (whom he calls al-Ṣaffār), ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm (to whom he gives the *nisba* al-Qazwīnī), and Abū ʿAmr (whom he calls al-Madanī al-Iṣbahānī), adding that there were others.

It is surprising that, although a number of transmitters are mentioned, the only detailed records of transmission I have dis-

¹ G.A.L. S. I, 270.

² Razīn b. Muʿāwīya Abul Ḥasan al-ʿAbdarī al-Andalusī al-Saraqūṣī. *Ṣaḡarat*, IV, 106; G.A.L. S. I, 630 (where the date of his death is given as 524, or, according to others, 535). *Ṣaḡarat* gives 535.

³ G.A.L. S. I, 297.

⁴ *Ibid.* 608.

⁵ *Geogr. Wörterb.* IV, 91.

⁶ *Ṣaḡarat*, II, 370.

⁷ *Geogr. Wörterb.* Register.

⁸ Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-muʿannan*, I, 172, mentions a man called Aḥmad b. Rauḥ al-Bazzāz who belonged to Baġdād, but says he was unknown. Neither in *Tabḍīb* nor in *Lisān* does he give any details about this man although (see below) he includes him among those who transmitted the *Sunan* from Ibn Mājah.

⁹ *Geogr. Wörterb.* I, 106 says he lived in Qazwīn, where he recommended what was good and condemned what was disreputable. He was known as al-Ṣaffār. No dates are given.

¹⁰ *Tagḥīr*, II, 189.

¹¹ *Tabḍīb*, IX, 531.

¹² al-Ḥalīlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Qazwīnī, *Tagḥīr*, III, 301-3; *Ṣaḡarat*, III, 274.

¹³ *Geogr. Wörterb.* II, 91 speaks of his *Taʿrīf* in which he mentioned the dates of Ibn Mājah's birth (209), death on a Monday, and burial on Tuesday, 22nd Ramaḍān 273, but gives no dates for Jaʿfar.

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covered in the sources available to me all deal only with the transmission through Qaṭṭān. These are Ibn Ḥajar's *Kitāb fibrīṣa marwīyāt*... *Ibn Ḥajar*;¹ the five works by Kūrānī, Nahlī, Baṣṭī, Fullānī and Saukānī, published together in Ḥaidarābād, 1328 A.H.;² the description of MS. no. MDLXIV in the *British Museum Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts* (1846); and a photostat of fos. 300-303 v° of Arabic MS. 706 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.³

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‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Salama b. Baḥr Abul Ḥasan al-Qaṭṭān belonged, like Ibn Mājah, to Qazwīn. He is called *ḥāfiẓ* and is said to have been learned and a reliable authority. While he is credited with having been versed in all the sciences, his special subjects were *tafsīr*, *fiqh*, *naḥw* and *luḡa*, but Brockelmann has no record of any books attributed to him. His travels took him to Iraq and the Yemen. He had a reputation for asceticism and is said to have possessed all good qualities. He died in 345.⁴

Ibn Ḥajar (773-852)⁵ tells that he read the *Sunan* to Abul ‘Abbās Aḥmad b. ‘Umar b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. Abul Badr al-Baḡdādī al-Lu’lu’ī (725-809)⁶ who settled in Cairo. He got it from the *ḥāfiẓ* Abul Ḥajjāj Yūsuf b. Zakī al-Dīn ‘Abd-al-Raḥmān al-Mizzī (654-742),⁷ Dāwūd b. Ibrāhīm b. Dāwūd b. al-‘Aṭṭār (665-752)⁸ and Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥabbāz (667-756),⁹ saying he was listening when the whole of it was read to them. They, using *aḥbarānā*, got it from Ismā‘īl b. Ismā‘īl b. Aḥūsīlīn (d. 682).¹⁰ At this point the MS. goes into

¹ For fuller details see J.S.S. I, 43. His account of transmission from Ibn Mājah is on fol. 8a, b.

² They are numbered in order H. 1-5 when reference is made to them. For full titles and authors' names see J.S.S. I, 55ff.

³ An excellent account of the contents of this section has been recently given by Georges Vajda in *Les certificats de lecture et de transmission dans les manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes—VI (Paris, 1957).

⁴ *Ṣaḡarat*, II, 370.

⁵ G.A.L. S. II, 72ff.

⁶ *Ṣaḡarat*, VII, 81f.

⁷ *Ibid.* VI, 136f.

⁸ Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-kāwina*, II, 95f. (no. 1677).

⁹ *Durar*, III, 384f. (no. 1016).

¹⁰ Ibn Rajab, *al-Dail ‘alā ṣabaqāt al-ḥanābila* (Cairo, 1952-3), II, 463 (no. 25). There Aḥūsīlīn is given, and I have used that form above. In the MS. of Ibn Ḥajar's *marwīyāt* the name is Jāsīlīn. In the Paris MS. the name Ismā‘īl b. Jūsīlīn occurs on fo. 303 v° and Vajda (*op. cit.* p. 8) suggests tentatively that Jūsīlīn may be an Arabic form of Jocelyn.

some ramifications. Mizzi, using *ahbaranā bibi*, got it also from Tāj al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥālīq b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Alawān (603-96)¹ and the *ṣaiḥ* Sams al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abū 'Umar (597-682).² Ibn Ḥajar then says his *ṣaiḥ* (i.e. Abul 'Abbās al-Baḡdādī) got the last, i.e. the 17th, *jaʿz* of the *Sunan* from the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Utmān al-Dahabī (673-748),³ Sams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Nubāta (c. 697-768),⁴ Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. As'ad al-Tanūhī (d. 754),⁵ and Sams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Raqqī (d. 707).⁶ Dahabī and Tanūhī said they got it from Tāj al-Dīn Ibn 'Alawān and 'Izz al-Dīn Ismā'il b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Farrā' (610-90),⁷ but Raqqī said he got it only from Ibn 'Alawān. The four said, using *ahbaranā*, they got it from Abū Muḥammad Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Qudāma (541-620).⁸ Dahabī said he got it also from Sanqar b. 'Abdallāh al-Zīnī (619-706)⁹ who got it from Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. Yūsuf al-Baḡdādī (557-629).¹⁰ Ibn Nubāta got it also from Abū Ṣādiq Muḥammad b. Raṣīd al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. 'Alī al-'Aṭṭār (c. 625-86)¹¹ from Abū Bakr 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Aḥmad b. Bāqā (555-630).¹² The three men (i.e. 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad, 'Abd al-Laṭīf and Ibn Bāqā) got it from Abū Zur'a Ṭāhīr b. Abul Faḍl al-Maqdisī (481-566).¹³ Up to this point *ahbaranā* has been used each time. Here the additional information is given that they, with the exception of Ibn Bāqā, heard the whole of it from Abū Zur'a. Ibn Bāqā got the 1st and 10th *jaʿz* by *ijāza*, if it was not by hearing.¹⁴ Abū Zur'a got it from Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain b. Aḥmad b. al-Haiṭam al-Muqawwimī al-Qazwīnī (c. 400-84)¹⁵ by *ijāza*, if it was not by

¹ *Ṣaḍarāt*, v, 435.

² *Ibid.* v, 376-9.

³ *G.A.L. S.* II, 45. The MS. wrongly has "b. al-Dahabī".

⁴ *Ṣaḍarāt*, vi, 212; *G.A.L. S.* II, 4.

⁵ *Ṣaḍarāt*, vi, 176.

⁶ *Darar*, iv, 66 (no. 185). It is difficult to understand how Abul 'Abbās (b. 725) got the *Sunan* from Raqqī (d. 707).

⁷ *Ṣaḍarāt*, v, 435f.

⁸ *Ibid.* v, 88-92. On the claim of Dahabī to have received the *Sunan* from him, see p. 136.

⁹ *Ibid.* vi, 14; *Darar*, II, 175f. (no. 1897).

¹⁰ *Ṣaḍarāt*, v, 132.

¹¹ *Ibid.* v, 399.

¹² *Ibid.* v, 135.

¹³ *Geogr. Wörterb.* I, 476; II, 114; III, 633; *Ṣaḍarāt*, iv, 217.

¹⁴ The B.M. MS. (see p. 137) says Ibn Bāqā read the *Sunan* before Abū Zur'a. The Paris MS. (see p. 138) says precisely that Ibn Bāqā got the whole book except the 1st and 10th *jaʿz* from Abū Zur'a, those being transmitted by him with *ijāza* if not by hearing. The statement of Ibn Ḥajar given above should therefore be understood in the sense made explicit in the Paris MS.

¹⁵ *Ṣaḍarāt*, III, 372.

hearing; but it later became clear that he had heard the whole of it from him. Muqawwimī got it from Abū Ṭalḥa al-Qāsim b. Abul Mundir the *ḥaṭīb* (d. 409 or 410),¹ using *ahḥaranā*, from Abul Ḥusain 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Salama b. Baḥr al-Qaṭṭān, using *haddatanā*, from Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Qazwīnī, known as Ibn Mājah, using *ahḥaranā*.

The details of this transmission are rather confusing. Ibn Ḥajar first traces the transmission of the *Sunan* only two stages beyond his *ṣaiḥ*. A little later he gives details of how his *ṣaiḥ* got the 17th *juʿ*, and from that point traces lines of transmission all the way to Ibn Mājah. Yet in the course of the account he credits Ibn Bāqā with having heard all but the 1st and 10th *juʿ*, and says 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad and 'Abd al-Laṭīf heard the whole of it, also that Abū Zur'a heard the whole of it. This phrase must mean the whole of the *Sunan* and not the whole of the 17th *juʿ*, for it is used in contrast to the two sections which Ibn Bāqā received by *ijāza*.

Ibn Ḥajar, claiming a "high" *isnād*,² also read this book to Abul Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Abū Majd al-Dīn al-Dimašqī (c. 708-800)³ at Qil'at al-Jabal in Cairo in the course of four sessions, receiving *ijāza*, if he did not get it by hearing. Abul Ḥasan got it from Abul 'Abbās Aḥmad b. Abū Ṭālib al-Ḥajjār (c. 628-709)⁴ and Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. Abū Ḡālīb b. 'Asākir (629-723),⁵ or one of them, even though it applied only to part of it. After this rather unsatisfactory statement he turns to another source. Abul Ḥair Aḥmad b. Abū Sa'īd Ḥalīl b. Kikaldī al-'Alā'ī (726-802)⁶ wrote to him from Jerusalem telling him he had heard most of it from al-Ḥajjār and had received *ijāza* for the rest. Having given this additional reference to al-Ḥajjār he returns to his *ṣaiḥ* Abul Ḥasan and tells that he, using *ahḥaranā bibi*, said he got the *Sunan* from Abul Rabī' Sulaimān b. Ḥamza b. Qudāma (628-715)⁷ by *ijāza*. He said that the first two, which must mean al-Ḥajjār and Ibn 'Asākir, told him they had received it by *ijāza* and *mukātaba* from Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Qubaiṭī (d. 641)⁸ and Anjab b. Abul

¹ *Ṣaḥarāt*, III, 189.

² This is an *isnād* covering a long period with few links, a type considered valuable. See Ḥākim, *Ma'rifaṭ 'ulūm al-ḥadīṭ* (Cairo, 1937), pp. 5 ff.; Ibn al-Ṣalāh, *Ulūm al-ḥadīṭ* (Aleppo, 1931), pp. 215 ff.

³ *Ṣaḥarāt*, VI, 365 f.

⁴ *Ibid.* VI, 19.

⁵ *Ibid.* VI, 61.

⁶ *Ibid.* VII, 15.

⁷ *Ibid.* VI, 35. There he is called Taql al-Dīn Abul Faḍl Sulaimān b. Ḥamza.

⁸ Vajda, *op. cit.* p. 56, n. 32.

Sa'ādāt al-Hamāmī (554-635).¹ The third, i.e. Abul Rabī', said he got it from the *imām* Ṣihāb al-Dīn 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Suhrawardī (539-632)² by *ijāza* and *mukātaba*. They ('Abd al-Laṭīf, Anjab and Suhrawardī) got it from Abū Zur'a, using *aḥbaranā*. Suhrawardī and Anjab said they got the whole of the *Sunan* and Ibn al-Qubaitī said he got the whole except the passage in *Kitāb al-manāsik* from *man labbadara' sabu* to *al-aḍāḥi wājiba au lā*,³ receiving *ijāza* with his *sanad*. Presumably the transmission is to be traced beyond Abū Zur'a by the chain already given.

H. 14 gives a chain of transmission through Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī who read it to Abul Ḥasan 'Alī b. Abū Majd al-Dīn al-Dimašqī (c. 708-800) who got it from Aḥmad b. Abū Ṭālib Abul 'Abbās al-Ḥajjār (c. 628-709) from Anjab b. Abul Sa'ādāt al-Hamāmī (554-635). With reference to these two links in the chain 'an is used, after which *aḥbaranā* is used every time. Anjab got it from Abū Zur'a and so on to Ibn Mājah. It will be noticed that this gives only part of what is quoted from Ibn Ḥajar on p. 135.

H. 25 tells that Ibn Ḥajar read the *Sunan* to Abul 'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī al-Baḡdādī al-Lu'lu'ī (725-809) who settled in Cairo. Abul 'Abbās got it from Abul Ḥajjāj Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mizzī (654-742), hearing the whole of it, from Ṣaiḥ al-Islām 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū 'Umar b. Qudāma al-Maqdisī (597-682), from Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Qudāma al-Maqdisī (541-620), from Abū Zur'a. *Samā'*⁴ is used of these three links. The transmission goes as above to Ibn Mājah, Abū Zur'a using *aḥbaranā bibi*, Abu Ṭalḥa and Qaṭṭān using *ḥaddaṭanā bibi*. But Abū Maṣṣūr al-Muqawwimī does not appear, Abū Zur'a being represented as saying Abū Ṭalḥa informed him of it. This must be due to carelessness on the part of the compiler, for Abū Zur'a who was born in 481 could not have received the *Sunan* direct from Abū Ṭalḥa who died in 409 or 410. H. 36 gives the same chain of transmission as H. 2, and correctly includes Muqawwimī, but uses only 'an throughout. A comparison with what Ibn Ḥajar says on pp. 132 f. shows that this record gives only a part of his statement. While Ibn Ḥajar mentions 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū 'Umar, he does not say that he got the *Sunan* from Muwaffaq al-Dīn.

¹ *Ṣaḡarāt*, v, 170.

² G.A.L. S. 1, 788 ff. The date of his death is not mentioned there. *Ṣaḡarāt*, v, 153 gives 632. See E.I. iv, 506.

³ I.e. from *Manāsik*, 72 to *Adāḥ*, 2.

⁴ P. 13.

⁵ Pp. 17 f.

⁶ P. 8.

H. 3¹ gives a line of transmission through 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Qalqaṣandī. He got the *Sunan* from Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ḥalīl and Tāj al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Šihāb al-Dīn al-Adru'ī.² Up to this point 'an is used. Burhān al-Dīn, using *aḥḥaranā*, got it from Muṭaḥhar al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-'Ajamī (694-774)³ and Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. al-Ḥasan b. Ḥabīb (703-77),⁴ who both got it from Šaqar b. 'Abdallāh al-Birlisī,⁵ from al-'Ādil b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. Muḥammad al-Qubaiṭī. Adru'ī got it from Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Qudāma. He and Qubaiṭī got it from Abū Zur'a and so on as already given to Ibn Mājah. *Aḥḥaranā* is used each time.

In Ibn Ḥajar's record we are told that both 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Qudāma and 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Qubaiṭī got the *Sunan* from Abū Zur'a, whereas the transmission from Abū Zur'a is attributed above to sons of these men. If they were transmitters, one would have expected a statement that each got the *Sunan* from his father.

H. 4⁶ gives the same chain of transmitters as in H. 2, pp. 17f., including Muqawwimī who is omitted there, 'an being used throughout. Another chain is given on pp. 22f. through Abul 'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Umar al-Baḡdādī al-Jauharī (725-809)⁷ who heard the whole of the *Sunan* from the *ḥāfiẓ* Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Utmān al-Dahabī (673-748) who heard the whole work from Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Qudāma al-Maqdisī (541-620)⁸ who heard the whole of it from Abū Maṣṣūr al-Muqawwimī (c. 400-84). Muqawwimī uses *aḥḥaranā bibi* in telling how he received the *Sunan* from Abū Ṭalḥa. Abū Ṭalḥa uses *aḥḥaranā* and Qaṭṭān *ḥaddaṭanā bibi*. This chain is carelessly quoted, for it omits Abū Zur'a who was 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad's authority.

¹ Pp. 38f. ² I have not discovered any information about these men.

³ *Saḍarāt*, vi, 235.

⁴ *Dirar*, iv, 104 (no. 284). It says he got Ibn Mājah's *Sunan* from Sanqar.

⁵ I have found no one of this name, and the fact that Kamāl al-Dīn is said to have transmitted from Sanqar (see previous note) makes one wonder whether an error in copying has changed Sanqar into Šaqar. But, as was seen on p. 133, Sanqar got the *Sunan* from 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baḡdādī, whereas Šaqar is said to have got it from a son of 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ibn al-Qubaiṭī.

⁶ P. 22.

⁷ I.e. Ibn Ḥajar's *ṣaiḥ*, called by him Lu'lu'ī instead of Jauharī as here. Either word could mean that he dealt in pearls.

⁸ This agrees with Ibn Ḥajar's statement on p. 133, but see pp. 137f.

H. 5¹ gives a train of transmission through Nafis al-Dīn al-'Alawī from his father from Aḥmad b. Abul Ḥair al-Ṣammāhī from Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 650)² from Naṣr b. 'Alī al-Ḥaḍramī from Abū Zur'a and so on to Ibn Mājah, 'an being used each time. He also gives the chain of transmitters through Ibn Ḥajar given in H. 2, pp. 17f., including Muqawwimī, and using 'an throughout. Again, using 'an throughout, he gives the chain in H. 1, p. 13, through Ibn Ḥajar. On p. 47 he gives a chain through Ṣammāhī which is said to go to Ḥajjār who got the *Sunan* from 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Qubaiṭī who got the *Sunan* from Abū Zur'a. Again only 'an is used. This chain agrees with the last given by Ibn Ḥajar.

The B.M. MS. account of the transmission, which is in the handwriting of Najm al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Baġdādī (662-748)³ and dated 730, says it was received at various meetings in Damascus, the last at the end of Ramaḍān, 688, from 'Izz al-Dīn Abul Faṭḥ 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alawān al-Asadī al-Ḥalabī (621-92),⁴ from Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. Yūsuf al-Baġdādī (557-629), the grammarian, from Abū Zur'a Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī (481-566), the work being recited to him in 'Abd al-Laṭīf's hearing in Baġdād, from the *faqīh* Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain b. Aḥmad b. al-Haitam al-Muqawwimī al-Qazwīnī (c. 400-84), from Abū Ṭalḥa al-Qāsim b. Abul Mundir the *ḥafīẓ* (d. 409 or 410), from Abul Ḥusain 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Salama b. Baḥr al-Qaṭṭān, from Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Yazid Ibn Mājah. *Aḥbarānā* is used throughout.

Some further details are given regarding the MS. For example, it was compared with the Damascus copy in Jumādā I, 730, and some corrections were made in the margin. It was read in Cairo in 615, and again in 621 and 622 in the presence of Ṣafī al-Dīn Abū Bakr 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abul Faṭḥ Aḥmad b. Tāqā⁵ al-Baġdādī (555-630) who read it before Abū Zur'a. Other accounts of the *Sunan* being read on specific occasions are given, but they do not affect the matter of its transmission.

In dealing with the Paris MS. Vajda gives on p. 4 a complete chain which he has copied from fo. 1 b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Uṭmān al-Dahabī (673-748) got the *Sunan* from 'Abd al-Ḥālīq b.

¹ P. 46.

² *Ṣaḥāḥāt*, v, 251.

³ *Dirar*, II, 375f. (no. 2436).

⁴ Subki, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣāfi'īya al-kubrā*, v, 144.

⁵ This is an error for Bāqā.

'Abd al-Salām b. Sa'īd b. 'Alawān al-Ba'labakkī (603-96)¹ from 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad Ibn Qudāma Muwaffaq al-Dīn al-Maqdisī (541-620), from Abū Zur'a, from Abū Maṣṣūr, from Abū Ṭalḥa from Qaṭṭān from Ibn Mājah. He mentions that the transmission from Abū Zur'a onwards is given in *Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣāfi'īya*, I, 2.²

In the margin of fo. 300b it says the whole of the *Sunan* was heard from the *ṣaiḥ*s Najīb al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Abul 'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mu'ayyad al-Hamaḍānī (d. 687)³ and Abū Muḥammad Sākir Allāh b. Ḡulām Allāh b. Ismā'īl, the Ṣāfi'ī doctor known as Ibn al-Ṣam'a who heard the whole of it from the *qādī* Abū Bakr 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Abul Faṭḥ Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. Bāqā al-Baḡdādī (555-630) who heard it all from Abū Zur'a, except the 1st and the 10th *juḡ'*, for he transmitted them by *ijāza*, if not by hearing, from Abū Maṣṣūr al-Muqawwimī. It also says that the 1st, 10th and 11th *juḡ'* were heard from Ṣāfi' al-Dīn Ḥalīl b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Marāḡī (d. 685)⁴ who heard the whole book from Abū Muḥammad Ibn Qudāma (541-620) and received *ijāza* from Ibn Bāqā. These two said Abū Zur'a informed them (*aḥbarana*) from al-Muqawwimī, Ibn Bāqā's wording being quoted.

In the Paris MS. fo. 301a (margin), Ibn Bāqā is said to have got the whole book except the 1st and 10th *juḡ'* from Abū Zur'a, for he transmitted them by *ijāza* if not by hearing. From there the transmission goes by the normal chain to Ibn Mājah. The MS. has Abul Ḥasan instead of Abul Ḥusain for Qaṭṭān. On fo. 303b it says Ibn Qudāma heard from Abū Zur'a from the beginning of the 2nd *juḡ'* to the 9th. It also mentions that Abū Ṭalīb 'Abd al-Latīf b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Qubaiṭī heard from Abū Zur'a, and later calls him Abū Ṭalīb al-Qubaiṭī.

The lists at the end of the Paris MS. deal not so much with the transmission back to Ibn Mājah as with certain people some

¹ *Ṣaḡarat*, v, 435.

² It gives Ibn Bāqā from Abū Zur'a (*aḥbarana*) from Muqawwimī (by *ijāza* if not by hearing, but it later became clear that he had heard it) from al-Qāsim, i.e. Abū Ṭalḥa (*aḥbarana*) from Qaṭṭān (*aḥbarana*) from Ibn Mājah (*haddatana*). Here the chain is given in relation to only one tradition the author wishes to quote, but it represents the normal transmission of the *Sunan*.

³ Ṣafādī, *al-Waṣf bil-wafayāt* (Bibliotheca Islamica, 6b), II, 137 (no. 485). It says there that Mizzi (see p. 132) was among those who heard traditions from him, but none of the sources I have consulted mentions this in connexion with Ibn Mājah's *Sunan*.

⁴ *Ṣaḡarat*, v, 390f.

centuries after his time who received either the whole work or part of it. As this article is concerned with full chains of authorities, and as Vajda has given a very full account of the contents of the matter supplied in the Paris MS., it is unnecessary to go into further detail.

GENERAL REMARKS

Ibn Mājah's *Sunan*, perhaps because it was so late in being accepted by the community at large, does not have the same variety of lines of transmission as the other five books. In the sources consulted there is no variation in the first four links leading to Ibn Mājah, each source giving Ibn Mājah—Qaṭṭān—Abū Ṭalḥa—Muqawwimī—Abū Zur'a. Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir Abū Zur'a al-Maqdisī was born in Rayy in 481 and died in Hamadān in Rabi' II, 566. A number of transmitters received the *Sunan* from him and records are kept about the different lines all of which converge on Abū Zur'a.

But when one examines the chain it is impossible to avoid misgivings. Qaṭṭān, whose date of birth does not seem to be recorded, died seventy-two years after Ibn Mājah's death. He must either have died a very old man, or have received the *Sunan* from Ibn Mājah at a very early age. Abū Ṭalḥa died sixty-four or sixty-five years after Qaṭṭān's death, and so he might have been at least in his teens when he received the *Sunan*. Muqawwimī, however, was only about nine or ten years old when Abū Ṭalḥa died, and Abū Zur'a was only three when Muqawwimī died. This precocious child is first said to have received the *Sunan* from Muqawwimī by *ijāza* if not by hearing, a procedure which is quite normal, as *ijāza* was given to young children, but Ibn Ḥajar says it later became clear that he had heard the whole of it from Muqawwimī.¹ How a child of three or less could do this it is difficult to understand. Muqawwimī is said by Ibn Ḥajar to have used *ahbarānā* in telling how he received the *Sunan* from Abū Ṭalḥa, although he was no more than ten when Abū Ṭalḥa died. Abū Ṭalḥa's use of *haddaṭanā* in telling of his reception of the *Sunan* from Qaṭṭān is more credible, but once again doubts occur when Qaṭṭān uses *ahbarānā* about his method of receiving the *Sunan* from Ibn Mājah. It will be noticed that the words describing the method of receiving the *Sunan* do not always agree in the different accounts of the transmission, *ahbarānā* and *haddaṭanā* changing places on occasion, but this does not affect the principle.

¹ This is also said in Subki, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 2.

Of the transmitters at the next stage, 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baġdādī¹ was nine, Ibn Bāqā eleven, and Ibn Qudāma fifteen when Abū Zur'a from whom they are said to have received the *Sunan* died. Here again *ahbarana* is used each time. Later it is to be noticed that Abū Ṣādiq 'Aṭṭār was only about five when Ibn Bāqā his authority died, that 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Alawān was eight when 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baġdādī his authority died, that Sanqar was ten when this same authority from whom he also received the *Sunan* died, that Farrā' was ten when Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāma his authority died, that Ḥajjār was seven and Ibn 'Asākir six when Anjab their authority died, and that Abul Rabī' was four when Suhrawardī his authority died.

More serious is the statement that Dahabī, Ibn Nubāta, Tanuḥī and Raqqī, using *ahbarana*, claimed to have received the *Sunan* from Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāma, a statement repeated in H. 4 so far as Dahabī is concerned. Dahabī was born fifty-three years and Ibn Nubāta about seventy-seven years after Ibn Qudāma died. I have not discovered the date of birth of the other two, but Tanuḥī died 134 years and Raqqī eighty-seven years after the death of Ibn Qudāma. Obviously some intermediate link in the chain has been omitted.² The same difficulty applies to Lu'lu'ī's claim to have received the *Sunan* from Raqqī who died eighteen years before Lu'lu'ī was born.

The general impression received from such considerations is that there are either some weak links in the transmission, or that people of later times have been careless in their recording and have omitted some links.

¹ Vajda (p. 7, n. 27) draws attention to a remark in Ibn Abū Usaibi'a, '*Uyūn al-anbā'*', II, 202. It is said there that 'Abd al-Laṭīf's father made him hear traditions in his childhood from a number of people, one of those mentioned being Abū Zur'a.

² On pp. 137f. a statement occurs regarding such an intermediate link so far as Dahabī is concerned.